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CODE SWITCHING: A CASE STUDY OF GERMAN-RUSSIAN LANGUAGE INTERACTION

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Abstract

Studying speech behavior of the linguistic identity carriers on the example of code switching seems quite relevant today. Despite extensive research on the subject of the relationship between language and culture and numerous scientific publications devoted to national and cultural characteristics of the linguistic identity, there have been no comprehensive studies on speech behavior of the Russian Mennonites. Another issue that remains insufficiently studied is also the factors that have an impact on the process of code switching and typological parameters of the linguistic identity.

Keywords

Speech behavior – Linguistic identity – Dialect – Code switching – Confession identity

Introduction

As Benveniste states, "We can never get back to man separated from language and we shall never see him inventing it. …", adding, "It is a speaking man whom we find in the world, a man speaking to another man, and language provides the very definition of man. … It is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a subject, …"[1]. One of many ways in which modern linguistics tries to find the answer to the question of how language exists in society, and undoubtedly, one of the direct paths to this goal is to observe and study the speech behavior of an individual who represents certain linguistic identity (Karasik, Shakhnarovich, Sternin, Formanovskaya, Sorokin, Prokhorov, Tarasov, Shkatova, Sedov, etc.).

The article is aimed at analyzing the code switching processes in the speech of an ethnic German. Despite extensive research on the subject of interaction between language and culture and numerous scientific publications devoted to national and cultural characteristics of the linguistic identity[2], there have been no comprehensive studies of speech behavior specific of the linguistic identity of ethnic Germans.

Speech behavior patterns of ethnic Germans living in places of their compact residence as well as the factors influencing their speech behavior, the typological parameters of their linguistic identity remain insufficiently studied. According to researchers, among the main extralinguistic factors influencing speech behavior of a person are: age, gender, marriage, profession, confession, nationality, and some others[3].

This article is focused on speech behavior patterns characteristic of the linguistic identity of an ethnic German (Low German dialect speaker), this linguistic identity can represent a good illustration of both language contact peculiarities and the mentality of ethnic Germans. The research material is a corpus of interviews (14,400 characters) recorded during a dialectological expedition to the German villages of the Omsk Region.

The main research method is recording of unrestricted free speech combined with various survey options (questionnaires, targeted interviewing of language speakers).

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[1] E. Benvenist, Obshchaya linguistika (Moscow: Editorial URSS. 2002), 293

[2] V. V. Vorobyev, Lingvokul'turologiya (teoriya i metody): monograph (Moscow: RUDN, 1997); V. G. Gak, Morfologicheskaya evolyutsiya i rechevaya strategiya. Problems of Romanistics. Language. Society. Culture (Saratov: Saratov State university, 1999); S. G. Vorkachev, "Lingvokul'turologiya, yazykovaya lichnost', kontsept: stanovlenie antropotsentricheskoy paradigmy v yazykoznanii", Philological sciences num 1 (2001): 64-72; A. P. Sedykh, Etnokul'turnye kharakteristiki yazykovoy lichnosti (na materiale frantsuzskoy yazykovoy lichnosti): abstract of philol. doct. diss (Saratov, 2005); O. V. Baikova, Funktsionirovanie nemetskikh dialektov v usloviyakh mezh"- i vnutriyazykovogo vzaimodeystviya v ramkakh yazykovogo ostrova (teoreticheskie problemy i polevye issledovaniya v Kirovskoy oblasti): Abstract of Philol. Doct. Diss (Kirov, 2012) y Zh. A. Serzhanova y N. A. Gruba, "Nemtsy-mennonity Omskoy oblasti: k voprosu ob etnokul'turnoy identichnosti", Ural Historical Journal Vol: 2 num 55 (2017): 54-61.

[3] U. Weinreich, Yazykovye kontakty: sostoyanie i problemy issledovania (Blagoveshchensk, 2000); L. I. Moskalyuk, Sociolingvisticheskie aspekty rechevogo povedeniya rossijskih nemcev v usloviyah bilingvizma: monograph (Barnaul: Izd-vo BGPU, 2000) y O. V. Baikova, Funktsionirovanie nemetskikh dialektov v usloviyakh mezh"- i vnutriyazykovogo vzaimodeystviya v ramkakh yazykovogo ostrova (teoreticheskie problemy i polevye issledovaniya v Kirovskoy oblasti): Abstract of Philol. Doct. Diss (Kirov, 2012).

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Speech behavior

Characteristics of ethnic Germans

In this article, we understand linguistic identity as, firstly, "communication identity"[4] which represents speech behavior typical of the entire ethnic group within a language island whose speech is characterized with such language phenomena as code switching, inclusions, borrowings; and secondly, as "ethnosemantic identity" reflecting the basic national and cultural prototype of native speakers of a certain language, their worldviews, value priorities, *etc.* which are fixed in the lexical system[5]. In our opinion, the speech behavior of an individual language speaker of a certain ethnic group reflects both the linguistic phenomena characteristic of the language of the given ethnic group, the main behavioral characteristics, as well as the factors determining this speech behavior.

It should be noted that it was not accidentally that we chose to study the ethnic Germans of the Omsk region who consider themselves Mennonites: the Russian Mennonites of the Omsk region are the descendants of the founders of the first German settlements in Siberia who appeared on the territory of the Omsk region in the late 1890s–early XX century. The language speaker who is our informant is a native of the Mennonite-Baptist village called Mirolyubovka (Alexanderkron) located in the Moskalensky District of the Omsk region. It was founded in 1906 by the Germans who arrived from the Black Sea region[6]. In 2010, the village had 590 residents, 70% of whom were ethnic Germans, representatives of the Mennonite community. It is a unique settlement where the Mennonite Low German dialect or Plautdietsch dialect is still preserved. There is a number of factors that contributed to its preservation; among the moost significant ones are strong religious beliefs of the members of the Mennonite community and their compact living. The rigid way of life of sectarian communities and high demands of morality have also produced strict requirements for school, for the preservation of the language and culture identity. The Plautdietsch dialect is a specific attribute of the identity of the Russian Mennonites for the residents of these settlements[7]. The Russian Mennonites read the Bible written in literary German, and this have also allowed them to learn literary German in addition to the Plautdietsch dialect. The Russian language for the Mennonites of the Omsk Region has become the official language of communication in public places with new or unfamiliar people or Russians and also beyond the village. Thus, the analyzed interview illustrates three language varieties used by the carrier of this kind of linguistic identity: the Plautdietsch dialect, literary German and Russian. Code switching is observed both from the dialect into Russian, and from a dialect into literary German.

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[4] I. A. Sternin, O ponyatii kommunikativnogo povedeniya (Halle: Kommunikativ-funktionale Sprachbetrachtung, 1989); S. A. Sukhikh y V. V. Zelenskaya, Reprezentativnaya sushchnost' lichnosti v kommunikativnom aspekte realizatsiy (Krasnodar: Krasnodar State University, 1997) y A. P. Sedykh, Etnokul'turnye kharakteristiki yazykovoy lichnosti (na materiale frantsuzskoy yazykovoy lichnosti): abstract of philol. doct. diss (Saratov, 2005).

[5] V. I. Karasik, "Otsenochnaya motivirovka, status litsa i slovarnaya lichnost", Philology num 3 (1994): 2-7.

[6] V. F. Dizendorf, Nemcy Rossii: naselennye punkty i mesta poseleniya: ehncikl. slovar'. Retrieved from: http://www.wolgadeutsche.net/diesendorf/Ortslexikon.php

[7] Y. Dyck, "Nemtsy-mennonity v SSSR. Istoricheskie korni i sootnoshenie confessional'nykh i etnicheskikh granits v mennonitskoy identichnosti v SSSR", State, religion, church num 4 (2014): 280. Retrieved from: http://www.intelros.ru/pdf/GosRelTserkov/2014_4/13.pdf

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The main characteristics of the linguistic identity carrier

The main characteristics of the linguistic identity in this context are the biological and physiological data of the informant: age and gender. The other important criteria for us in compiling a portrait of the linguistic identity were also the nature of marriage, profession, confession, nationality, the settlement history of the informant, historical background of his parents and ancestors, a "set" of worldviews, values and behavioral reactions.

The carrier of the linguistic identity analyzed in the paper is a man born in 1939. He was born and lives in the German Mennonite-Baptist village of Mirolyubovka, Omsk Region. His father was also born and lived all his life in this village, his mother was an ethnic German, originally from Ufa:

Meine Großeltern, die sind hierher gezogen anno 1910. Da war für die hier schon ein Haus bereit, die Verwandten waren hier schon früher, und hatten hier schon ein Haus für sie gebaut. Und da haben sie auch gewohnt drinnen. Mein Vater wurde anno 1915 geboren, und sein ganzes Leben hat er in dieses Dorf gelebt. Hier auch begraben. 7 Jahre war er mit der Frau getrennt in den Kriegsjahren. 5 Jahre in die Trudarmee, und 2 Jahre müsste er sitzen dafür, dass er nicht war zurück in die Trudarmee gefahren. 7 Jahre getrennt. Die übrige Zeit hat er sein ganzes Leben, fast 90 Jahre, hier im Miroljubowka gelebt.

My grandparents moved here (Omsk region) in 1910. A house had already been built there for them, their relatives had come there before, and they had built this house for them. They lived in this house too. My father was born in 1915 and he lived his whole life in this village. He is buried here. He was separated from his wife for 7 years during the war. He served in the labor army for 5 years, and then he was in prison for 2 years because he refused to go back to the labor army. 7 years being apart on the total. He lived here in Mirolyubovka for the rest of his life, almost 90 years.

Meine Mutter, die ist von Ufa. Die wurden enteignet da, mein Großvater anno 37 in Omsk erschossen. Und die dürften nirgends nicht arbeiten. Die waren eine Familie eines Feindes des Volks. Sind fast totgehungert. Das ist von meinen Großeltern. Meine Mutter die hat in Ufa da, in Petropawlowsk nachher immer als Kindermädchen gearbeitet um dass sie konnte am Leben bleiben, etwas zum essen bekommen.

My mother comes from Ufa. They were deported from there, and my grandfather shot himself in 1937 in Omsk. And they were not allowed to work anywhere. They were the family of the enemy of the people. Almost starving. My mother worked as a babysitter in Ufa, then in Petropavlovsk, thus she managed to survive, because she got some food.

Das sind die Eltern von meiner Frau. Dieser ist in Neudatschino geboren, und diese ist auch hier in diesem Dorf geboren, die Mutter. Er war von die 1908, und die Mutter von die 1912. Auch hier geboren. Meine Mutter, die ist früh gestorben. Die starb schon anno ,67, war nicht ganz 50 Jahre alt.

These are my wife's parents. The father was born in Neudatschino, and the mother was born here in this village. He was born in 1908, and she was born in 1912. She was also born there. Her mother died early. She died in '67, she didn't live to be 50 years old.

The following extracts from the interviews contain information about the resettlement history and the ancestors of our informant; they also give a bright illustration of the attitude of the informant to family values and traditions:

Mein Großvater… Die Ursache seines Todes ist, der ist erschossen. Wir haben das Papier, und da ist die Ursache seines Todes, der ist in Omsk erschossen.	*My grandfather ... The cause of his death is that he was shot. We have a paper which states the cause of hi death, why he was shot in Omsk.*
Das ist meine Mutter… das sind meine Großeltern, die erschossen wurden von Mutters Seite. Von Vaters Seite, die wurden nicht repressiert. Als es erst angefangen hat mit der Kollektivisation, dann hat er alles verkauft, was er hatte, alles, alles. Ihm zählten sie für nicht ganz klug im Kopf, der war ein reicher Mann. Aber das hat ihn gerettet von der Enteignung.	*This is my mother ... these are grandparents on my mother's side who were shot. Grandparents on the father's side were not repressed. When he (grandfather) first began collectivization, he sold everything that he had, everything, everything. He was thought of as a stupid man at that moment, since he was a rich man, but he gave it all away, and so he escaped deportation.*
Der hatte alles verkauft, und hatte nichts mehr.	*He sold everything and he had nothing left.*
Hier im Dorf ist er gestorben, ich kann mir an ihn noch erinnern, bei uns aufm Friedhof begraben.	*He died here in the village, I still remember him; he is buried in the local cemetery.*

This linguistic identity carrier is a religious person, a member of the Mennonite community who was the leader of the community in the status of pastor for more than 10 years. Talking about his education, it should be noted that our informant is a tractor driver by profession and his education was only seven years of a comprehensive school. Despite this fact, he also speaks apart from the German dialect the literary German language that he learned in his childhood in his family and the community. It is important to understand that the Mennonite community, alongside its religious component, remains an important educational institution for its members. In the interview the informant says that he considers both the Plautdietsch dialect and the literary German language as his native language. However, he recognizes that it is the Plautdietsch dialect that he has spoken since he was a baby. Currently, the informant speaks Plautdietsch in everyday life communicating with his wife (who is ethnic German, also born and living in this German settlement of the Omsk region), with relatives and fellow villagers; he writes books about the history of the Mennonite community in Mirolyubivka and about his family in literary German. He is a very well-read and educated person, a prominent representative of ethnic Germans of the Omsk region.

Hier ist meine Lida, sitzt aufm Pflug. Müsste nachts pflügen, müsste den Pflug aufheben, damals waren solche Pfluge. Die hat sehr schwer müssen arbeiten. Ab 14 Jahre arbeitete sie schon im Schweinestall als Schweinehirt, ab 14 Jahre. Müsste sie Schweine futtern, mit den Händen alles tragen und tun.	*Here is my Lida sitting on a plow. She had to plow at night, and to lift the plow at night. She had to work very hard. At the age of 14 she worked at the pigsty as a pigherd, from the age of 14. She fed pigs, she had to carry everything herself and worked with her hands.*
Wir haben 28 Großkinder, aber wir zählen auch die, die angeheiratet ist, das sind auch unsere Großkinder, bei uns ist nicht, dass das nicht unsere sind, es sind Kinder von den Unseren. Sind alle mehr oder weniger versorgt.	*We have 28 grandchildren, but they also our grandchildren's spouses, they are also our grandchildren, and for us, it does not matter that they are not ours, they are our children. All of them are quite well-off.*

Wir sind eine sehr friedsame Familie. Haben uns sehr lieb. Die Kinder und die Großkinder, die kommen immer sehr gerne, immer wenn es nur geht. Als gläubige haben wir sehr enge Gebetsunterhatung von einander.	*We are a very peaceful family. We love each other very much. Our children and grandchildren, they always love to come when they can do it. As religious people, we support each other a lot in prayers.*

The speech behavior of the informant during the interview is typical of the linguistic identity of Mennonite Germans of the Omsk Region; one can observe code switching patterns characteristic of speech of all representatives of the ethnic close-knit community of this language island.

Types of code switching

Code switching is a common phenomenon in a bilingual community, and it can take various forms: a sentence can be started in one language and finished in another. Words and phrases from different languages interchange and replace each other.

Three types of code switching are usually described[8]:

1)   inter-sentential code is when switching occurs between sentences, e.g., after a sentence in the first language has been completed and the next sentence starts with a new language;

2)   intra-sentential code switching involves switching within clause or sentence boundaries. It is also sometimes called code mixing and considered an "extreme" form of code switching;

3)   tag switching is inserting a tag or a short phrase in one language into an utterance that is entirely in another language. Tags may include interjections, fillers, set phrases or idiomatic expressions.

Code switching in the analyzed interview occurs at three levels: word (lexical) level, at the phrase boundaries (within one sentence), at the text level (between sentence boundaries), thus it occurs at minimal as well as maximal levels[9].

The most frequent instances of code switching are observed at the lexical level. However, before moving on to the examples from the interview, we consider it necessary to note that the Plautdietsch dialect spelling does not have a universally recognized norm. There are their own and so far unstable written standards developed in Russia, Canada, the USA, Mexico, Brazil and Paraguay, and in recent years also in Germany. Plautdietsch dictionaries published over the past decades reflect its multi-contacts with Spanish, English, German, and Russian[10]. Cyrillic spelling is also possible, and it is discussed in the thesis by Nieuweboer[11]; it is still used currently despite the fact that some foreign experts consider it

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[8] J. Bechert, W. Wildgen, Einführung in die Sprachkontaktforschung (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges, 1991), 65

[9] S. Poplack, Variation theory and language contact: concepts, methods and data Network on Code–switsching and Language Contact: papers for the Workshop on Concepts, Methodology and Data (Strasbourg: 1990)

[10] H. Rempel, Kjennt jie noch Plautdietsch? A Mennonite Low German Dictionary (Winnipeg, 1984).

[11] R. Nieuweboer, The Altai Dialect of Plautdiitsch (West-Siberian Low German) (Groningen: Rijks Universiteit, 1963), 235-242

irrelevant[12]. The main problem in this instance, according to Liebert, is the choice of graphemes i.e., letters and their possible combinations, to represent Plautdietsch sounds[13]. That is why Omsk Germans use in personal letters either literary German or Russian or use Latin or Cyrillic letters in writing. To overcome the contradiction, we will use the DUDEN transcription system in this article.

Code switching at the lexical level can be illustrated by the following examples:

Ven deej sent oul dreej befrijt. … det es min gröuttjent, deej habe tweej tjenja, **pravnuchki (great granddaughters)** *onse.*

Zato de dochta haft ons **dvoinyashki (twins)**, *en jong en en meatje jebrocht.*

Eeejne haft ne dochta…, nej, en jongtje, **moi pravnuck (my great grandson)**.

Dies ist ein Brief, dass mein Sohn hat an mir geschrieben im Lager… **podlinnik (the original copy)**, *met oule fiela, heej jentj dann ene tweejde klouss. …* **telegramma (telegram)**, *seeja wechjtje,… ein breejf, schreejw etj mine frü Lida tüm jebortstdach ven dortent. Ok en* **podlinnik (the original copy)**.

Enne veade klous koum etj ewa, söu op **troechki (satisfactory marks)**.

De schöul deej wea ewafüllt, doawejen deejde se ons… muke se poa **kontrol'nye (tests)**, *en wi tjrejje blöus tweeje en söu musst wi rüta. Dan jenjtj etj eejn joa* **voobshche (whatsoever)** *nechj nü schöul.*

Na en dan wolle se mi do ne **pooshchrenie (reward)** *moke, schreejwe se ok en* **prikaz na pooshchrenie na lichnoe svidanie (order allowing a visit as a reward)** *met de femiljje töupkume, oba deej* **svidanie** *tjrechj etj nechj, wlls deej wea mi noch nechj erloubt.*

Söu es det met min liere. Etj houd dan oul, sewentijn joa we etj oul nechj nü schöul jegune, oba ok dem easchten dach wea fuz **diktant (dictation)** *schriwe, en etj schreejw dem op 5. En dan weret* **matematika**, *wi liede je, tüss lied wi nechj, blöus enne abendschule, deej schreejw oune доска dan oul deej gounze* **zadachi (tasks)** *ewa. Deej schreejw en etj tjetjd en schreejw söu langsam en retjend dout fuz, do were 12* **deistvyi (actions)**, *en houd se ütjeschriewe en nand etj dea dem numa. Ea wout es de* **otvet (answer)** *ven dese* **zadacha (tasks)**.

Höuw se earen buk op, sachjt se, „det es en buk vem **tekhnikum (techical school)**, *lut de teejws nechj saje, dout heej mo sewen klouse jeendechjt haft, det es niemuls nech söu, deej well* **prosto (just)** *hea gounz lejchtet lewe habe, dowejen sachjta söu".*

Dout es, wills etj eejmul dout houd **usvaivat' (learn)**, *ous etj enne fefte, sasste, sewende klous jenjtj.*

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[12] H. Siemens, Plautdietsch (Bonn: Tweeverlag, 2012), 16

[13] E. A. Liebert, "Yazyk mennonitov Zapadnoy Sibiri: k materialam ocherednoy ekspeditsii", NSU Vestnik, Series: Linguistics and Intercultural Communication Vol: 14 num 1 (2016): 37–43.

Etj hab ne seeja scheejne frü, seeja schejne, ***iskluchitel'no (entirely)*** *schejne,* ***takaya zhertvennaya (so self-sacrificing).***

Nej, ***voobshche (whatsoever),*** *de belda es* ***v osnovnom (mainly)*** *oules mine obet, etj hab ven tjentheit op met en fotoapparat jegune.*

Code switching at the lexical level or switching involving a "minimum number of components" is observed in the case of incorporation of individual "not assimilated" lexical elements (nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc.) into the language system[14]. They have not been subjected to phonological, morphological or syntactic adaptation. The major part of the Russian language insertions in the speech of Russian Germans are nouns:

Oba dout haft am jerat venne ***raskulachivanie*** (***dekulakization).***

En ous det eascht koum, de ***kollektivizatsia, raskulachivanie*** (***dekulakization),*** *dan leejte se am sene… .*

Fen veattejn schouwd se oul em schwinschtoul ous ***svinarka (pig-tender),*** *fen veattejn joa.*

Ven deej sent oul dreej befrijt. … det es min gröuttjent, deej habe tweej tjenja, ***pravnuchki (granddaughters)*** *onse.*

The analysis of speech behavior shows that there are various reasons for inserting Russian words. One of the reasons may be a desire to express one's thoughts and ideas more accurately, as well as the use of Russian words may occur due to absence of a word with the same meaning in the dialect. In some cases switches result from the fact that the informant cannot remember a particular word in German and, as a result, turns to the Russian language.

Adjectives, adverbs or verbs are less frequent Russian language insertions in the speech of the informant (they make up only 15% of the total number of insertions):

Dan jenjtj etj eejn joa ***voobshche (whatsoever)*** *nechj nü schöul. Eascht feftechj, en dan* ***rackhvatali vsye (grabbed everything).***

… det es niemuls nech söu, deej well ***prosto (just)*** *hea gounz lejchtet lewe habe, dowejen sachjta söu".*

Dout es, wills etj eejmul dout houd ***usvaivat' (learn),*** *ous etj enne fefte, sasste, sewende klous jenjtj.*

Etj hab ne seeja scheejne frü, seeja schejne, isklyuchitel'no schejne, ***takaya zhertvennaya (so self-sacrificing).***

Nej, voobshche, de belda es ***v osnovnom (mainly)*** *oules mine obet...*

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[14] S. Poplack, Variation theory and language contact: concepts, methods and data Network on Code–switsching and Language Contact: papers for the Workshop on Concepts, Methodology and Data (Strasbourg: 1990), 33-66

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Code switching involving the "maximum number of components" is observed when phrases, prepositional and conjunctional phrases, phraseological units, etc. from one language are inserted into the other[15]. The following sentences are examples of code switching at the phrase level:

*Etj woll det hea oufjewe enne **pechat', chtoby napechatali mne zdes' (printing to print me here)**, en deej saje: **takoye kachestvo my ne v sostoyanii sdelat' (we can't provide such quality)**. Etj saj: «**Togda ne nado.» (Then we don't need it)***

*Eejne, **pravda, posle rodov (but, after the labour)**, en eejne wea sewen joa öult.*

*Sent oula **bole ili menee obespecheny (more or less well-off).***

*De tjnja en gröuttjenja, deej kume ema seeja jeren, ema wan dout afens jet. Ous gläubige ha wi ne seeja enjje **molitvennaya podderzhka drug druga (supporting each other with a prayer).***

*Wea ok meeja en ditschet darp. Trocke ewa, habe doa veeja joa jelewt, wills mine gröutmama met de tjenja, deej dorwe em kolchos nechj schoufe, det were **vragi naroda (enemies of the people)**.*

*Na en dan wolle se mi do ne pooshchrenyi moke, schreejwe se ok en **prikaz na pooshchrenie na lichnoe svidanie (order allowing a visit as a reward)** met de femiljje töupkume...*

The following examples are the code switching instances at the text level (complete clauses or sentences):

*Etj hab mi ema jewenscht dvoinyashki tüss. **No Bogh nam ne dal ikh (But God did not give them to us).** Zato de dochta haft ons dvoinyashki, en jong en en meatje jebrocht.*

*Ous gläubige ha wi ne seeja enjje molitvennaya podderzhka. **Vsegda my v molitvakh pdderzhivaem drug druga: my detey svoikh, oni nas podderzhivayut** (**We always pray for each other: we support our children, they support us).***

***Nam nuzhny vashi mucheniya, no ne vasha rabota - deviz lagerya** (**We need your torment, but not your work – the motto of the camp).** No I tam haft de gröuta Gott ons bewoat. …det es mine schöul, det es mine frü Lida do...*

*En dan röupd etj noch mul oun min houlvbröuda en dejde se noch feftech en tulatzt noch feftechj, en deej sent tusaje oula wachj. **Pochti vse ushli (Almost all gone).** Etj mot noch söu seeja höule, dout deej lese sele.*

The above examples are either someone's quotes, sayings, or phrases that describe the events of that time more accurately, which are known to the informant only in the Russian version (in the Russian language). Regarding the grammatical form of the examples, it

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[15] S. Poplack, Variation theory and language contact: concepts, methods and data Network on Code–switsching and Language Contact: papers for the Workshop on Concepts, Methodology and Data (Strasbourg: 1990), 33-66

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should be noted that they correspond to the grammar rules of the Russian language, and they have endings typical of nouns and adjectives in Russian.

Etj lied scheejn, etj houd редко, редко mul ne veija, mo fif, fif. Besondasch **matematika, sochinenia, izlozhenia, diktanty** (**mathematics, essays, reproductions, dictations).**

Na en dan wolle se mi do ne pooshchrenie moke, schreejwe se ok en **prikaz na pooshchrenie na lichnoe svidanie (order allowing a visit as a reward)** *met de femiljje töupkume...*

The use of the phrase "enemy of the people" is a vivid example of code switching in order to intensify the informative component. The information expressed in Russian is supposed to communicate the thoughts of the informant more accurately, to emphasize and enhance the informative content of the statement.

Code switching from German to Russian in the informant's speech more frequently occurs at the end of the sentence, or at the sentence boundaries, which is called *satzexterner Wechsel* (inter-sententional)[16], that means "beyond the sentence", when a clause or a sentence in one language is followed by a clause or a sentence in another language:

Etj woll det hea oufjewe enne **pechat', chtoby napechatali mne zdes' (printing to print me here)***, en deej saje:* **takoe kachestvo my ne v sostoyanii sdelat' (we cannot provide such quality)***. Etj saj: «togda ne nado.»*

Dreej mul tu feftechj ha se mi en ditschlount jedrokt bietja. Eascht feftechj, en dan **rackhvatali vsye (grabbed everything)***.*

Sent oula **bolee ili menee obespecheny (more or less well-off).**

Trocke ewa, habe doa veeja joa jelewt, wills mine gröutmama met de tjenja, deej dorwe em kolchos nechj schoufe, det were **vragi naroda (enemies of the people)***.*

Etj hab mi ema jewenscht dvoinyashki tüss. **No Bogh nam ne dal ikh (But God did not give them to us).**

Ous gläubige ha wi ne seeja enjje **molitvennaya podderzhka drug druga. Vsegda my v molitvakh pdderzhivaem drug druga: my detey svoikh, oni nas podderzhivayut (Supporting each other with a prayer. We always pray for each other: we support our children, they support us).**

The transition into Russian at the end of the utterance can be qualified as code switching at the natural boundaries of the speech stream. This means that a syntactically complete clause or sentence in German is replaced by a clause or sentence in Russian; thus, the informant emphasizes the rhematic part of the informative structure of his statement.

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As the research has shown, code switching does not affect the syntactic structure and foreign-language elements are included in the sentence without breaking the structure of the first part of the sentence.

Code switching from the Plautdietsch dialect to the literary German language is observed far less frequently than switching the code from the literary language to the dialect. This kind of code switching can be explained by a number of reasons: first of all, the habit of the informant to speak the dialect in everyday life, but to communicate either in literary German or in Russian with strangers or unfamiliar people:

Min gröutfuda… **Die Ursache seines Todes ist, der ist erschossen***.*

Det wea min motozikl, det wea papa sina, en heej koft sechj en nijen en dan goufa mi desem. **Verfolgung der Christen ist unser Familie nicht übergegangen. Auf fünf Jahre bin ich auch gerichtet. Hab in Omsk die fünf Jahre verbracht im Lager. Ich war elf Tage weg und dann hat Lida die Tochter geboren.** *Alf doag wea etj arrestit en dan wort ons eejne dochta jebure.*

Dies ist ein Brief, dass mein Sohn hat an mir geschrieben im Lager*… podlinnik, met oule fiela, heej jentj dann ene tweejde klouss.*

Oba enne stariki **habe ich mich noch nicht reingeschrieben. Bin jetzt in den Mitteljahren so, ganz besten Jahren. Aber so stark, wie ich mal war, bin ich nicht mehr.**

Summarizing the above, it can be stated that bilingual code switching in the speech of ethnic Germans of the Omsk region is observed: a) within one syntactic construction; b) at clause or sentence boundaries; c) at the text level (between clauses or sentences).

Regarding the motivating factors in code switching, the study suggests that it occurs, as a rule, unconsciously and is connected with the topic of the conversation. As for the linguistic perspective, code switching is seen in this paper as a situation of coexistence of three linguistic systems. This situation is characterized by penetration into the language system of a linguistic "non-assimilated" element from another language or dialect.

The analysis has shown that the dominating type of code switching in the studied language material is the switch from the dialect to the Russian language within a syntactic construction with the maximum number of components. Motives for code switching are of particular interest for not only linguists, but also for psychologists, and ethnographers. The factors determining code changing may be the topic of conversation, the theme-rheme structure of the sentence, a desire to share "secret" information, etc.

Conclusion

The linguistic identity is a complex unity consisting of communicative and ethnosemantic components, which reflect, on the one hand, consistent patterns of a person's communicative behavior, and on the other hand, the person's linguistic ethnotype. Being an "ethnosemantic identity", the carrier of the analyzed linguistic identity, who is a representative of ethnic Germans, reflects in his speech behavior the basic national-cultural prototype of a German speaker in general and the Low German dialect speaker in particular,

which is fixed in the lexical system. The speaker's ideological preferences determine his worldview, value priorities, as well as life experience, as it is evidenced in the examples.

The speech behavior of the linguistic identity carrier is indicative of the typical speech behavior of the entire ethnic group within the framework of the language island. The above examples also allow us to suggest that code switching in the speech of ethnic Germans of the Omsk Region is observed: a) within a syntactic construction; b) at clause or sentence boundaries; c) at the text level (between clauses or sentences); however, in the analyzed interview, the prevalent code switching instances are from the dialect to the Russian language within a syntactic construction with the maximum number of components.

Our observations also indicate that the language behavior of the linguistic identity carrier is influenced by extralinguistic factors, such as age and gender, nature of marriage, profession, confession, nationality, the settlement history of the informant, historical background of his parents and ancestors, a "set" of worldviews, values and behavioral reactions., etc. However, it should be noted that it is not always possible to predict the choice of the code in each particular case, which is the main problem in studying the extralinguistic context of speech behavior.

Acknowledgment

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